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776 794 Another group of gods who are neither Buddhist, Taoist, nor Official can best be classified as the gods of individual cults. They are generally polytheistic in nature. Such gods are the Ch'ung Wang, god of the insects, Ma Wang, god of the horses, Ho Shen, god of the river, and others of a similar nature.

When a temple is classified as Buddhist, Taoist, Official, or as belonging to one of the individual cults, it means that the principal deity belongs to that group. The lesser gods of the temple may, and often do, belong to one of the other groups. The Buddhist Kuan Yin and the Official Kuan Ti are found on the side altars of many temples dedicated to other deities.

795 779 Through the years Buddhism, Taoism, and the Official and individual cults have influenced each other, borrowed from each other, and imitated each other as one or the other has gained in popularity, prestige, and power until now, in some cases, it is difficult to decide the group to which some of the temples belong.

Several examples will perhaps illustrate how the different groups have intermingled and influenced each other. The origin of the dragon is pre-Buddhist as it goes back to very early days, but it is the Buddhists who have personalized the dragons and the dragon mother. We have included the dragons in the Official list because of their official function in controlling the rain. The Ch'eng Huang has long been the official protector of the city walls, but under the Manchu dynasty the deceased official whose spirit was to occupy that position for three years was nominated by the Taoist pope. At the end of his term the Ch'eng Huang might be renominated or replaced. The Buddhists claim that Yü Huang, the chief god of the Taoist trinity, is their god Yü Ti, stolen by the Taoists. The head Taoist priest in Ting Hsien lived in the city Ch'eng Huang temple. There used to be one temple, T'ien Chen Szu, that combined Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism so that any sect could come there to worship.

The Buddhist and Taoist temples did not appear to have any close connection with a central organization or governing body as is true of religious sects in most Western countries. The temples seemed to be relatively independent units. Most of them had been erected by the people living in the village. The building was financed sometimes by popular subscription, sometimes from official village funds, occasionally by an individual who had acquired wealth and wanted to

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776 manifestations of Kuan Yin, the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy. In some
779 temples she was known as the Nan Hai Ta Shih, South Sea Grand Goddess, in others as Lao Mu, old mother.

Three quarters of the individual cult temples were dedicated to the king of the horses or the king of the insects. The Huo Shen, fire god, did not have any temple in Ting Hsien, but was one of the secondary gods in some of the other temples.

346 In size the temples varied from one to 30 chien. There were 1,397 chien in the 855 temples, or an average of 1.6 chien per temple. For the Experimental District, 83 per cent of the temples had only one chien. Eleven per cent had three chien and only 3 per cent had more than three.

Three was the average number of temple chien per village for the entire hsien. For the six Districts the averages ranged from 2.2 in the 4th District to 3.4 in the 6th District. In the Experimental District the average was 2.8 chien per village. It has been difficult to find any reason for this difference in the averages. A difference in wealth might account for it, but the cost of erecting a one-chien temple was relatively small. The religious beliefs of the past may have made a deeper and more lasting impression on those living in the northern part of the hsien so that they built more and larger temples, or they may have been more conservative and so have preserved more of their temples. In the 4th District, there were many more villages where some of the people had been willing to accept the newer ideas presented by Christianity.

794 The operating expenses of a temple ordinarily were very small. Except for special services and occasional repairs only a few dollars a year would be needed for incense and paper money. Very few of the temples had any priest connected with them, so the support of a priest was seldom an item in the temple budget. One or more of the villagers was appointed to look after the temple and light the incense in front of the altar.

793 There were 24 Buddhist and 15 Taoist priests in Ting Hsien. Eight of the Buddhists and seven of the Taoists lived in the city. The others were in the 1st, 3rd, and 5th Districts. Twelve of the 15 Taoist priests were married. They belonged to a class that did not take the vow of celibacy.

Many of the priests were paid only when they took part in some special service, such as those held during a temple fair; during the temples'

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543 One wonders whether the omission of worship by this lately organized fair points toward the gradual elimination of worship from the other fairs. It seems probable that the worship feature will continue, but with fewer and fewer worshipers. Even now by no means all of the people stop to burn a bundle of incense and bow in front of the altar before they enjoy the fair.

The fairs were a great opportunity for entertainment and recreation. They were also the occasion for the local people to sell their products and buy things brought in by itinerant merchants. They also brought considerable income to those who could rent quarters to visitors. It will be noted that farm products such as grain and vegetables were not listed as on sale at the fairs. The taxes collected on animals, wood, and other local products sold during the fair were a big item, but, as the tax collection privilege had been bought from the hsien, the amount collected at the fairs went to the tax collector rather than to the government tax office.

Some people complained that the expense of entertaining visiting friends and relatives who came for the fair was a heavy financial burden and was an annual item; also that there was a great temptation to spend more at the fair than the family budget could afford. The fairs also attracted thieves, pickpockets, confidence men, and gamblers.

The fairs were one of few occasions during the year when the entire family came out for recreation and entertainment and so were one of the few times that large numbers of women were seen abroad.

Religious Societies

575 794 Besides the temples to which anyone could go for worship there were special Buddhist and Taoist societies with a limited membership. Only members were admitted to their meetings; there were special rules of conduct and abstinence for their members. Most of these organizations, especially the Taoist ones, had many of the characteristics of secret societies, with a ritual, dogma, and practice known only to their members. Consequently we have been able to secure only general information about them. As far as we could learn several societies may be represented in a given village, but a person can be a member of only one. In the 62 villages of the Experimental District we found one Buddhist and nine Taoist societies. At least six of the Taoist societies had both men and women members.

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The Buddhist society was called the Universal Salvation Buddhist Society. It was named for the monk Pu Chi, whose doctrines it was formed to perpetuate after his death at Wu T'ai Shan. Joining the society involved the payment of an initiation fee, a contribution that was said to bring blessing and benefit to departed parents and relatives. It was reported that there were 854 members in 13 villages.

The Taoist societies in the order of size were The Grain Carrying, Pei Liang Tao; The Sage and Virtuous, Sheng Hsien Tao; The Nine Functions, Chiu Kung Tao; The Teachers' Society, Lao Shih Tao; The Li Men, doctrine sect; The Hsiang Men Tao, incense sect; The Sitting and Practising, Tso Kung Tao; The Quiet Heart, Ching Hsin Tao; The Gold Incense, Chin Hsiang Tao.

The Pei Liang Tao got its name from the fact that on the 15th of the month certain of the women and on the 16th certain of the men put a package of grain on their backs and went out to call on their fellow members and to try to convert others. On the 1st of the month the members met at the home of the head of the group. The grain they carried on their backs was used for food at the meeting or while on the road. At their meeting the members sang songs together and practiced contemplation. They said that with practice magic rays came from their eyes and that they were able to see the spirits of the dead. There were 570 members in six villages.

The Sheng Hsien Tao was started in Ting Hsien on the 24th of the 8th month of 1898 by a man named Wang Tang Chia who said he came from San Tsun Fo Shan or the Three Buddha Hill. Meetings were held every three months, at which time one of the older members was invited to preach the doctrine of the society. The rules required that the members abstain from dog meat, pigeons, and wild geese. In order that they might receive a blessing the members sang songs and practiced contemplation. The Sheng Hsien Tao had 243 members in 22 villages.

The Chiu Kung Tao came from T'ai Shan in Shantung, where it was started in 1852. It first reached Ting Hsien in 1854, coming by way of T'ang Hsien. The members of this society were not allowed to eat meat, garlic, or onions, to drink wine, or to use tobacco. It was said that they could predict future danger and happiness, could cure people, and with practice could learn to see the spirits of the dead. No regular meetings were held but when a member effected a cure the family of the patient arranged for a meeting. Some families asked the members not only to

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work cures but also to bring a blessing to their deceased parents and relatives. This society had 109 members in five villages.

The Lao Shih Tao, Teachers' Society, was started during the reign of Shun Chih, 1644–1661, by a man called Tung Szu Feng Tzu who lived in Shantung. The Emperor sent for him, liked him, and encouraged him to preach his doctrine. He accompanied the Emperor on a trip to T'ai Shan. The society first came to Ting Hsien in 1822. It got its name from the fact that its members addressed each other as Lao Shih, teacher, whenever they met on the street. The rules of the society prohibited the use of meat. The members were said to be able to predict the future. There were 106 members in 13 villages.

The Li Men, doctrine sect, was founded by Yang Tzu during the reign of K'ang Hsi, 1662–1722. He originally taught how to control the mind and body and how to practice self denial. His followers, who had given up many of the original beliefs and practices, worshiped the fox, snake, and weasel and abstained from wine and tobacco. The society held a meeting once a year. New members were initiated at that time. The charge for the meeting was some 70 cents and a meal was served those who attended. This society seems to have had more organization than most of the others, with a head man, a business manager, a supervisor, and a number of preachers. The head office of the society was near Yenchiang in Kua Chia T'un. There were 90 members in 16 villages.

Members of the Hsiang Men Tao, incense sect, were said to burn incense and kotow 800 times after midnight on the 1st and 15th of the month. The society held no regular meetings but came together occasionally when one of the members had worked a cure and the cured man provided for the meeting. At such meetings the general beliefs of the group were set forth. The society was said also to have considerable secret material known only to the members. There were 28 members in three villages.

The Tso Kung Tao, founded on the shores of the Hsi Hu, or Western Lake, came to T'ang Hsien in 1650 and to Ting Hsien in 1661. As far as we could learn the chief duty of the members was to practice contemplation and the development of the quiet mind, thereby bringing longevity to the body and harmony to the soul. They sat down and meditated three times a day, early morning, noon, and midnight. They believed that if they practiced well their souls could leave their bodies and travel around the world. They also believed that this freedom of the

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soul made it possible for them to communicate with the spirits and that from them they could get the power to cure sickness.

The members of this Tao met in the home of the head of the society on the 15th day of the 1st, 5th, and 9th months. They all contributed money to cover the cost of the meeting but the largest item was always the meal served to the members. Any surplus was used for the good of the group. The society had only nine members in one village.

The Ching Hsin Tao and Chin Hsiang Tao were, to the outsider, very similar to the Tso Kung Tao in their practices of contemplation and the quiet mind. It was not possible to discover just how the societies differed from each other in belief and teaching. The Ching Hsin Tao had only seven members in one village. The Ching Hsiang Tao had but five members.

The total membership in the nine Taoist societies was 1,167. It was not possible to determine from the field reports how many of the 62 villages of the Experimental District had one or more Taoist societies, but as the nine societies reported 68 village organizations and the Sheng Hsien Tao was represented in 22 villages, it seems probable that at least half and possibly two-thirds of the villages had one or more of the Taoist groups represented among their inhabitants.

It will be noted that contemplation was used by the members of most of these Taoist organizations in order to gain peace of mind, freedom of the soul, and contact with the spirit world and in some instances to develop the power of healing. Some, but not all, of the societies required their members to abstain from the use of all or special kinds of meat, wine, and tobacco. It would seem probable, therefore, that the membership would include the more devout Taoists and would be made up largely of older men and women. One investigator reported that the members were largely old type schoolmasters, men without regular occupations, and obstinate men, that some of the members joined because they were old and had no sons or no children. He also reported that the women members were well along in years and that not a few of them were widows.

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Besides the societies directly connected with Buddhism and Taoism there were others that had no religious connection but appealed to the people on the basis of morality and good works. The Wan Kuo Tao Te Hui, International Moral Society, founded in 1921 in Shantung, first came to Ting Hsien in 1923. Many people joined at that time, especially

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797 its work on the villages of the Experimental District, the church groups had seven Mass Education schools of their own. The report showed approximately 75 per cent literacy in the Christian families. In an effort to start a home industry that would enable the women to add a little to the family income, some of the church groups had classes in knitting.

The Salvation Army first came to Ting Hsien in 1918. It had a meeting hall on the main north street of the city, sub-headquarters, with Chinese officers in charge, in two towns and one village, and centers in eight villages, where work was carried on by the officers from the nearby headquarters. There was one foreign officer living in the city. He reported, in 1930, a membership of 500 in all the different centers, with 268 of these in the city. Besides these there were a number of inquirers not yet admitted to membership. Plans had been prepared for the building of a hospital in the west suburb.

TABLE 111. TEMPLES, 1930

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Wu Tao Miao	157	Ho Shen Miao	5	Mu T'a Szu	1
Kuan Ti Miao	123	K'ung Tzu Miao	5	Pa En Szu	1
Lao Mu Miao	102	T'ai Kung Miao	5	Pai T'a Szu	1
Nan Hai Ta Shih Miao	80	Ch'uan Shen Miao	4	Pei Tou Miao	1
San Kuan Miao	48	San Huang Miao	4	San Ch'ing Kuan	1
Nai Nai Miao	45	Yueh Wang Miao	4	Szu Chieh Miao	1
Chen Wu Miao	41	Ch'eng Huang Miao	3	Ta Wang Miao	1
Lung Wang Miao	32	Ch'i Shen Miao	3	T'ien Ch'i Miao	1
Yü Huang Miao	22	Hsien Ku Miao	3	T'ien T'ai Szu	1
Ma Wang Miao	21	Fo Szu	2	T'ien Ti Miao	1
Ch'ung Wang Miao	20	Fo Yeh Szu	2	Ts'ang Ku Miao	1
Yao Wang Miao	14	Hu Hsien Miao	2	Ts'ang Shan Yüan	1
Kuan Yin Miao	13	Kuan Yüeh Miao	2	Tz'u Yün Szu	1
San I Miao	13	T'ien Hsien Sheng Mu Miao	2	Wen Shen Miao	1
Ta Szu	13	Chiu Shen Miao	1	Wu Chiang Miao	1
Lung Mu Miao	12	Fo Tsu Szu	1	Wu Ling Miao	1
P'u Sa Miao	9	Han Tsu Miao	1	Yen Wang Miao	1
Erh Lang Miao	7	Hs'en Hsing Szu	1	Yü Wang Miao	1
T'u Ti Miao	7	Kao Ke Miao	1		
Lao Chün Miao	6	Mi Le An	1	Total	855

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TABLE 112. TEMPLES IN EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICT VILLAGES BEFORE 1882 AND IN 1928

	Before 1882	*1928*		*Before 1882*	*1928*
Wu Tao Miao	68	17	San Huang Miao	3	1
Lao Mu Miao	54	19	Ho Shen Miao	2	1
Kuan Ti Miao	40	10	Wu Sheng Lao Mu Miao	2	1
Chen Wu Miao	37	11	Ch'eng Huang Miao	1	1
San Kuan Miao	32	9	Ch'i T'ien Ta Sheng Miao	1	1
Nai Nai Miao	22	5	Chou Kung Miao	1	1
Yü Huang Miao	22	1	Fo Yeh Miao	1	1
Lung Wang Miao	21	4	Han Tsu Miao	1	1
Yao Wang Miao	18	5	Li Ching Miao	1	1
Ma Wang Miao	17	3	Lo Han Miao	1	1
Ch'ung Wang Miao	9	1	Lung Mu Miao	1	1
Kuan Yin Miao	7	2	San Ch'ing Kuan	1	1
Erh Lang Miao	6	1	Ts'ai Shen Miao	1	1
T'ai Kung Miao	4	1	Wen Miao	1	1
T'u Ti Miao	4	1			

All Given Up by 1928

Ta Szu	12	Lao Chang Miao	1
San I Miao	5	Lao Chün Miao	1
Ch'i Shen Miao	3	Liu Hsiu Miao	1
Wu Lung Sheng Mu Miao	3	Lung Ch'üan Szu	1
Ch'ung Ning Szu	2	Mi Le Szu	1
Fo Kuang Szu	2	Ni Ku An	1
Wen Shen Miao	2	Pa Ch'a Miao	1
Yung Ning Szu	2	Pai Ma Szu	1
An Le Szu	1	Pei Yüeh Miao	1
Ching Yeh Szu	1	Ta Fo Szu	1
Feng Huang Szu	1	Ti Tsang An	1
Fu Ch'ang Szu	1	T'ien Chen Szu	1
Hsiao Szu	1	T'ien Hsien Ling Mu Miao	1
Hsing Fu Szu	1	Ts'ang Ku Miao	1
Hsing Yuan Szu	1	Tso Fo Szu	1
Hung Men Szu	1	Wu Shen Miao	1
K'ai Ming Szu	1		

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

585 787 geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

761 Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

764 The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

788 241 In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

794 776 P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

788 [794] 776 [769] A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China A

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The majority of the town population live by their handicraft, working in small shops . . . open on the narrow alleys of the native cities. . . . A tremendous amount of work is done in these front shops. . . . Passing down a street you see carpenters, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, metal workers, furniture makers, ivory carvers, lacquer workers, fan makers, kingfisher feather workers, embroiderers, coffin makers, all at work in the front shops. Almost every form of productive activity, save those processes which need a large plant and special conditions, may be seen as one passes along almost any Chinese street. . . . In these small industries there may be a certain number of hired persons, and apprentices are frequently taken in and trained. . . .The best of such industries are like large families. It has been estimated that no more than 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the population are families engaged in handicrafts, some 8,000,000 persons being actually so employed.[1]

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Until very recently practically all manufactured goods sold in China were made by the guilds. Even today the total imports average less than two dollars American currency per head, which indicates that manufacture is still confined largely to the guilds.

Although it is anticipating the detailed description of the guilds, it should be mentioned that there are close similarities in clan, village and guild organization and in the resultant characteristic attitudes of the members of these groups. The paternalistic control by the elders, the solidarity in the face of official interference and the extreme "localism" or group-confined interest of the clan, village and guild are all similar. There is a close correspondence between the clan worship of its ancestors and the guild worship of its founder.[2]

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Although not so numerous as the agricultural group, the

[1] C. L. Malone, *New China* (London, 1927), Part II, pp. 2-3.

[2] *Cf.*, pp. 181-182.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 guild from the Guild Merchants or general organization of traders. There existed, as Morse has pointed out, three large organizations, namely, the great Guild of Newchuang, the Swatow Guild, and the Canton *Co-Hong*, which were combinations of merchants roughly similar to the guild merchants of Medieval Europe. There is, however, no evidence that any of the guilds included in this study were at an earlier date subdivisions of such super-guilds. There seems no parallel between the history of the Chinese guild and that of the breaking up of the Guild Merchants in England.

The Chambers of Commerce, which now are not only in the cities but also in the market towns, are organizations of very recent origin. They have as their members representatives of the ancient guilds, but they could not have been the forerunners of these organizations.

There are, however, several other possibilities of the origin of the guild which we will enumerate as follows: The guild may have developed (1) from the "Religious Fraternity"; (2) from the family clan organization; (3) from the provincial guilds; (4) primarily as a necessary means of protection from official exploitation; (5) as the only possible group method of getting a living in a situation where there was not enough work to supply support for all the people.

*441 794 (1) Morse alone among the writers on Chinese guilds classifies the "Religious Fraternity" as a guild. Such societies or *hwei* of which religious ceremonies are a prominent feature are described by many writers on China. It is at least conceivably possible that originally the guilds were primarily groups of men banded together for the worship of a supposed founder of a craft or trade and that the various economic functions of the guilds were a later development. The prominence of religious practice in the Peking guilds clearly shows the great importance of this element in guild

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

life.[1] At the present time in some craft guilds the invitation to the annual meeting is a request merely to worship the "guild god"; no mention is made of the transaction of business which plays a prominent part in the gathering.[2]

(2) There can be no denying the fact, substantiated by observation in North China, and also by D. H. Kulp in his book, *Village Life in South China,* that not only many villages but frequently larger towns are practically made up of persons of one name. In a private conversation Admiral Tsai Ting Kan, a prominent official in the Peking government, himself a native of Kwangtung Province, told of towns in Southern China of a good many thousand inhabitants where not only were the elders of the town the heads of the clan but the entire industry of the town was organized and monopolized by the clan. It is at least possible that many of the earliest guilds may have originated thus. This theory could have two forms: either these towns, originally dominated by those of one blood, took in members of other clans as they enlarged but left the monopoly of their particular trade or trades in the hands of the original stock, thus forming guilds within the city population; or those of one blood and name, in going to a nearby town, formed a monopolistic association to protect the clan members in making a livelihood.

(3) Another theory, which is advocated by Douglas, is that the guilds grew out of provincial or district associations. When persons of one district move to another place they frequently form associations for mutual protection. Douglas thus describes what he considers the origin of the commercial guilds:

A later development of trade has been the adoption of guilds,

[1] *Cf.* pp. 174-189.

[2] *Cf.* p. 96.

771 Here the so-called Buddhists still hold the first place, with a percentage almost the same as that in calculating the distribntion by families. The table does not tell us much, except as it points to the significance of the Mohammedans who form 10% of the whole population over 16 years, and therefore, play a big part in the life of the town.

2. The Mohammedan Temple.

779 The religious life of the Mohammedans is centred in the Mohammedan Temple situated on the north side of the river. Originally it was on the south side, but in 1899 the Mohammedans contributed towards the new building on the present site.

779 793 Two officers are in charge of the Temple, the ahung or pastor, and the butcher. The ahung is selected every third year, and is eligible for re-election. He is the leader of all religious ceremonies both inside the Temple or in the families, and teaches the children the Turkish language and the Mohammedan bible. The butcher holds a permanent position, and is a person proficient in the killing of livestock, who takes charge of all the killing for the members. In addition to these two regular officers there are three elders and a number of assistants who are all voluntary workers. The elders deal with finance matters and other important business, and the assistants help the elders in the administrative side of the work. The voluntary workers are elected from among the members, and their term of office is indefinite, depending upon the ability and aptitude of the individual. The elders are responsible for

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selecting a suitable person from some other larger Temple for the position of ahung. 779 794

On Friday afternoon of every week a religious service is held, at which no woman is permitted to attend. There are no idols in the Temple, no music is used and absolute quietness is required from everyone except during the reading of the Koran. Before the service everyone must bathe, first washing the head and hands, then the body, and lastly the feet. There are certain public festivals to which women are admitted. On the twenty seventh day of the first month of the Chinese calendar every Mohammedan watches for the whole night as the Chinese do on New Year's Eve. Then there is the general meeting in memory of Mohammed at which everyone is present, and another meeting of the women and children who study the in the Temple in memory of the daughter of Mohammed. The Festivals are grand occasions for the members and great preparations are made and they are largely attended. The funeral servies are in charge of the ahung with the help of the elders. 779 796

The Temple is not only the centre for religious ceremonies, but also to a large extent a centre of the social life of the Mohammedan community. The elders not only help the ahung in the conducting of the services, but also look after the material welfare of the members, and there is very little poverty. The moral standard of the Mohammedans is very high and strictly adhered to by the members. It is the social unity of a community which makes the common life of the members possible, but the social unity of the 779 794